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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, BZ
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. I AM SENDING YOU IN THIS CABLE A DRAFT FOR THE
PRESIDENT'S JUNE 12 SPEECH IN BERLIN. IT INCLUDES A
COVERING MEMO, WHICH LAYS OUT THE OBJECTIVES FOR THE
SPEECH. I HOPE THIS WILL HELP THE SPEECH-WRITING PROCESS
ALONG.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF COVERING MEMO:

THIS DRAFT OF THE PRESIDENT'S JUNE 12 SPEECH IN BERLIN
HAS BEEN WRITTEN BY JOHN KORNBLUM TO APPEAL TO SEVERAL
AUDIENCES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

THE BASIC APPROACH IS THAT OF A VERY PERSONAL STATEMENT
BY THE PRESIDENT. THE GOAL IS TO DESCRIBE IMPORTANT PAST
AND FUTURE PROBLEMS IN THE PRESIDENT'S OWN HIGHLY
SUCCESSFUL, HUMAN STYLE. THE DRAFT PORTRAYS THE
PRESIDENT'S FEELINGS ABOUT BERLIN AND ABOUT THE DEBATES
OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS. IT CONCLUDES WITH THE
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PRESIDENT'S OWN PERSONAL VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF THE
WESTERN WORLD.

THE CENTERPIECE OF THE SPEECH IS A PRESIDENTIAL

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INITIATIVE ON BERLIN, WHICH IS INTENDED TO REAFFIRM THE U.S. AND ALLIED COMMITMENT TO THE CITY AND PLAY AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN ASSURING A BRIGHT FUTURE FOR BERLIN.

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BY PERSONALIZING THE SPEECH, I BELIEVE THAT IT WE CAN SERVE SEVERAL GOALS.

-- WE CAN REMOVE ISSUES FROM THE ABSTRACT AND PRESENT THEM IN HUMAN TERMS. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN GERMANY, WHERE AT PRESENT MANY PEOPLE FEEL THAT THEY HAVE LOST CONTROL OF THE ISSUES WHICH AFFECT THEIR LIVES.

-- WE CAN PRESENT THE PRESIDENT AS A THINKING, FEELING PERSON WHO CARES AS MUCH ABOUT THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AS EUROPEANS DO. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT GOAL IN GERMANY, WHERE YOUNG PEOPLE ESPECIALLY IDENTIFY THE PRESIDENT WITH AN AUTHORITARIAN, MILITARY ORIENTED APPROACH.

-- WE CAN PRESENT THE PRESIDENT AS A PERSON WITH YOUNG AND BOLD VISIONS OF THE FUTURE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT GOAL IN BOTH EUROPE AND THE US. IN BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, SUCH AN APPROACH WILL HELP COUNTER THE FEELING THAT THE GORBACHEV HAS SEIZED THE INITIATIVE.

THE BASIC MESSAGE IS THAT OF A PERSONAL VISION BY PRESIDENT REAGAN FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. THE VISION DRAWS ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE FIVE YEARS SINCE THE

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PRESIDENT'S LAST VISIT TO BERLIN.

-- IT FOCUSES ON PEOPLE -- THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN, THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. DESCRIPTION OF POLICY IDEAS IS DRAWN FROM THE PRESIDENT'S OBSERVATIONS OF PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY GERMAN YOUNG PEOPLE DURING HIS LAST VISIT TO BERLIN.

-- IT FOCUSES ON DEMOCRACY AND OPENNESS -- DRAWING FROM HUMAN EXPERIENCE, THE DRAFT NOTES HOW SUCCESSFUL THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL HAS BEEN DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS. IT CHIDES THE NAY-SAYERS WHO PREDICTED A DEEP FREEZE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS OR WORSE. WITHOUT BEING OVERBEARING, THE DRAFT SEEKS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT IS THE POLICIES OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAVE BROUGHT US TO THIS

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SUCCESSFUL POINT.

-- IT CALLS FOR ACTION -- NOTING THAT THE FOUNDATIONS OF WESTERN SECURITY HAVE BEEN RESTORED, THE DRAFT SUGGESTS THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO RENEW OUR DEDICATION TO OVERCOMING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. IT SEEKS TO COUNTERACT RECENT CALLS FOR A SECOND PHASE OF DETENTE BY TYING EAST-WEST COOPERATION TO THE CONCEPT OF AN OPEN WORLD. THE SPEECH CALLS FOR A SIGNAL FROM BERLIN WHICH SETS FORTH "REAL" OPENNESS AS THE FOUNDATION FOR A REUNITED GERMANY AND EUROPE.

-- IT CONTAINS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS -- THE VISION IS NOT LIMITED TO RHETORIC. DRAWING ON BERLIN'S TRADITIONAL ROLE AS A EXAMPLE FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS, THE SPEECH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, BZ
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

CONTAINS SEVERAL PROPOSALS FOR HELPING BERLIN BECOME A
PATHFINDER FOR THE FREE AND OPEN WORLD IN EUROPE. MOST
CONCRETE IS THE PROPOSAL FOR NEW AIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH
THE EAST.

MUCH OF THE CONTENT IS AIMED AT PROBLEMS WE ARE HAVING IN
EUROPE TODAY. THERE IS IMPATIENCE, ESPECIALLY AMONG
YOUNG PEOPLE, WITH THEIR OWN INABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE
FUTURE. THIS SPEECH ARGUES THAT THE BEST WAY TO
INFLUENCE THE FUTURE IS THROUGH DEDICATION TO DEMOCRATIC
IDEALS AND TO THE OPEN SOCIETY. THESE POINTS COUNTER
SOME MORE DRAMATIC PROPOSALS NOW GAINING POPULARITY IN
EUROPE.

FOR AMERICA, THE MESSAGE IS SIMILAR. THAT IS, WE ARE NOT
SITTING ON A STATIC LINE IN EUROPE -- WE ARE GOING
SOMEWHERE. THE POLICIES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE
BROUGHT THE STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE TO BEGIN TO DEAL WITH
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THE THREAT TO PEACE WHICH STILL EXISTS IN EUROPE. IN
OTHER WORDS, OUR COMMITMENT IN EUROPE AND BERLIN IS
WORTHWHILE. IT DEFENDS FREEDOM, BUT IT ALSO IS LEADING
SOMEWHERE.

THERE IS ALSO A MESSAGE FOR THE SOVIET UNION. THE SPEECH
REFLECTS A READINESS TO DEAL WITH GORBACHEV, BUT MAKES
CLEAR THAT WE WILL NOT ABANDON POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE TO
DO SO. THERE IS ALSO AN INDIRECT OFFER TO ACCEPT
"GLASNOST" AS THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS FACING
SOVIET SOCIETY.

FINALLY, THE SPEECH ADDRESSES FEARS IN EASTERN EUROPE
THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FORGOTTEN THEM IN FAVOR OF BIG
POWER DEALINGS. THE SPEECH REJECTS THE NOTION OF EASTERN
AND WESTERN EUROPE AND STATES THAT AMERICA WAS FORMED BY
PERSONS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE CONTINENT.

THE GOAL OF THIS DRAFT IS TO PRESENT A MAJOR STATEMENT OF

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PRESIDENT REAGAN'S AND AMERICA'S VISION FOR A DYNAMIC EUROPE WHICH IS NOT DOOMED TO DIVISION AND SUBJUGATION. TEXT AND FORMULATIONS HAVE BEEN AIMED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AT KNOWN SENSITIVITIES OF EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS ABOUT PROBLEMS HERE.

AS THE DRAFT IS REWORKED, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT WHILE EUROPE IS TIED DEEPLY TO THE CONCEPT OF AN OPEN WORLD, GERMANS ESPECIALLY FEAR MOVING TOO FAR TOO FAST. THEY SHY AWAY FROM THE HINT OF CONFRONTATION WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER THE GAINS THEY HAVE ALREADY MADE. THEY ALSO EXPECT CERTAIN FORMULATIONS ABOUT THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT AND ROLE IN BERLIN. THE DRAFT CONTAINS THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED LANGUAGE ON THESE POINTS.

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THIS DRAFT IS ADMITTEDLY OVERLONG, BUT IS INTENDED TO COVER ALL THE NECESSARY BASES, AND GET THE SPEECH-DRAFTING PROCESS OFF TO A GOOD START.

END TEXT OF COVERING MEMO.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL BERLIN SPEECH:

PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER, CHANCELLOR KOHL, GOVERNING MAYOR DIEPGEN -- MY FELLOW BERLINERS

WHAT A THRILL IT IS TO BE HERE TODAY. NANCY AND I ARE MOVED DEEPLY BY THE WELCOME YOU HAVE GIVEN US.

WHEN I LEARNED THAT BERLIN WOULD CELEBRATE ITS 750TH ANNIVERSARY THIS YEAR, I WANTED VERY MUCH TO BE PRESENT. TO AMERICANS, 750 YEARS IS A LONG TIME. EVEN I WASN'T BORN THAT LONG AGO.

BUT THIS MOMENT -- AND THIS PLACE -- MARKS MORE THAN A BIRTHDAY. THIS TERRIBLE WALL BEHIND US IS A REMINDER THAT THERE ARE TWO BIRTHDAY PARTIES GOING ON IN BERLIN THIS YEAR.

BERLINERS ON THE EAST SIDE OF THAT WALL HAVE LITTLE TO CELEBRATE. THEY ARE BEING FORCED TO ENDURE A GLORIFICATION OF COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. MAMMOTH BUILDINGS AND MILITARY PARADES CANNOT HIDE THE SAD TRUTH WHICH IS SYMBOLIZED SO POIGNANTLY BY THE SPOT AT WHICH WE

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ARE STANDING TODAY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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RISING ABOVE THIS GREAT AVENUE IS A GATE -- THE
BRANDENBURG GATE. THROUGH THIS PORTAL HAVE MARCHED
CONQUERING ARMIES AND GREAT HEROES. IT WAS ALSO WITNESS
TO A MARCH OF A DIFFERENT SORT -- THE DEMONSTRATION BY
WORKERS IN EAST BERLIN ON JUNE 17, 1953.

BLOCKING OUR APPROACH TO THAT GATE IS A WALL. AS THE

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GREAT AMERICAN POET ROBERT FROST ONCE WROTE: "SOMETHING THERE IS THAT DOESN'T LOVE A WALL." AND STANDING HERE TODAY, WE CAN UNDERSTAND BETTER THAN ANY PLACE ON EARTH HOW TRAGIC IT IS TO CLOSE THE GATES WHICH ALLOW CONTACT BETWEEN PEOPLE.

HERE IN THE WEST, YOU ARE USING BERLIN'S BIRTHDAY TO HONOR THE HUMAN RICHES OF THIS CITY. EVEN MORE, YOU ARE TAKING A LOOK AT THE FUTURE. YOU ARE SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO TEAR DOWN THE WALLS WHICH DIVIDE CITIES AND

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BUT NO AMOUNT OF CONCRETE, BORDER GUARDS OR BARBED WIRE CAN DIVIDE THE SPIRIT OF BERLINERS EAST AND WEST. REGARDLESS HOW HARD THE COMMUNIST MASTERS MAY TRY, THEY CANNOT ERASE THE FACT THAT BERLINERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE WALL FEEL AS ONE PEOPLE AND ONE CITY. YOUR COURAGE AND YOUR UNITY WILL ENSURE THAT -- ONE DAY -- THIS UGLY WALL WILL DISAPPEAR.

LET US HOPE FERVENTLY FOR THAT DAY. YOU, MAYOR DIEPGEN, ARE A YOUNG LEADER. YOU HAVE MANY YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT IN FRONT OF YOU. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WITH DETERMINATION AND FORTITUDE BY ALL CONCERNED, WE WILL ONE DAY SEE YOU INSTALLED WHERE YOU BELONG -- IN THE HISTORIC BERLIN RATHAUS. WE CAN SEE IT THERE, THROUGH THE BRANDENBURG GATE. AS THE ONLY DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED MAYOR OF GREATER BERLIN, YOU BELONG THERE|

WHEN THIS DAY COMES, IT WILL BE THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN. AND PEOPLE IS WHAT THIS CITY HAS ALWAYS BEEN ABOUT. THERE ARE FEW RICHES IN THE SANDY SOIL AND THE FLAT MARSHES OF THE SPREE AND HAVEL VALLEYS. NO GOLD OR OIL OR EVEN RICH FARMLAND HAS MADE BERLIN A CENTER OF INDUSTRY AND CULTURE.

PEOPLE -- THAT'S WHAT BERLIN MEANS TO ME. AND DURING MY STAY HERE TODAY, I WILL MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO HONOR THE PEOPLE OF THIS GREAT CITY. I HAVE MET WITH SOME EXTRAORDINARY BERLINERS. SOME CARRIED OUT HEROIC RESISTANCE TO THE NAZI REGIME. SOME HELPED REBUILD THE CITY AFTER THE WAR. SOME ESCAPED FROM THAT WORKERS' PARADISE IN THE EAST, OFTEN ENDANGERING THEIR LIVES. AND

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SOME ARE BUILDING THE BERLIN OF THE FUTURE.

WHAT THEY ALL HAVE IN COMMON IS WHAT AMERICANS LIKE TO THINK OF THEMSELVES. THEY DID NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE DISCOURAGED. NO GOVERNMENT OR SYSTEM COULD TELL THEM HOW TO LIVE THEIR LIVES. THEY SAW THEMSELVES AS FREE MEN AND WOMEN. AND THEY SUCCEEDED.

I AM HERE TODAY, THEN, TO DELIVER AMERICA'S BEST WISHES TO THE PEOPLE OF ALL OF BERLIN. TO SHOW OUR LOVE AND OUR GRATITUDE THIS AFTERNOON, WE WILL GIVE AN AMERICAN-STYLE BIRTHDAY PARTY AT TEMPELHOF AIRPORT. IT WILL BE DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS CITY, BOTH EAST AND WEST.

I ALSO BEAR A MESSAGE EXTENDING BEYOND BERLIN TO EUROPE AND THE WORLD. I UNDERSTAND THE FEAR OF WAR AND THE PAIN OF DIVISION WHICH AFFLICT THIS CONTINENT. WE MUST FIND WAYS TO ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS SOBERLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

THE SOLUTION IS TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE OPEN WORLD. IN THE EAST, STIRRINGS OF INTEREST IN OPENNESS -- OR "GLASNOST" -- HAVE BEGUN, STIMULATED BY THE POWERFUL EXAMPLE OF THE WEST AND THE YEARNINGS OF THE ORDINARY PEOPLE THERE. IN THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE THIRD WORLD, THEY ARE SEEING THAT FREEDOM WORKS. WE ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH THE EAST TO PROMOTE TRUE OPENNESS, TO BREAK DOWN THE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS WHICH DIVIDE PEOPLE, AND TO CREATE A SAFER WORLD. AND THERE IS NO PLACE BETTER THAN BERLIN, AT THE EDGE OF EAST AND WEST, TO MAKE A START. I WILL ADVANCE SOME CONCRETE PROPOSALS TO THIS END.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
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THE CHALLENGE OF WESTERN SECURITY AND A LASTING PEACE

BUT BEFORE DISCUSSING IN DETAIL WHERE WE OUGHT TO GO, I
WOULD LIKE TO REVIEW HOW FAR WE HAVE COME IN THE PAST FEW
YEARS.

YOU KNOW THAT THIS ISN'T MY FIRST VISIT TO THIS GREAT
CITY. I CAME HERE LAST IN 1982 WHEN SOME BELIEVED THAT
SEVERE TENSIONS WERE BREWING BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

THOSE WERE DIFFICULT YEARS FOR MANY OF US. WHILE THE
SOVIET UNION CONTINUED TO EXPAND ITS MILITARY FORCES, WE
AND OUR ALLIES WERE WORKING HARD TO GUARANTEE WESTERN
SECURITY AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS. WE
SOUGHT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, NEGOTIATED ARMS REDUCTIONS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION. BUT IF WE COULDN'T MOVE FORWARD,
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WE WERE DETERMINED TO MEET THE DANGEROUS NEW SOVIET MILITARY CHALLENGE -- HUNDREDS OF NEW SS-20 MISSILES CAPABLE OF STRIKING EVERY CAPITAL IN WESTERN EUROPE -- BY STATIONING MODERNIZED INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE.

THOSE WERE DAYS OF COMPLEX DISCUSSIONS AND PAINFUL DECISIONS. BUT YOU KNOW WHEN I THINK BACK TO MY VISIT TO GERMANY IN THAT JUNE OF 1982, I DON'T DWELL ON THESE PRESSING PROBLEMS. INSTEAD, MY THOUGHTS AGAIN TURN TO PEOPLE. IN THIS CASE, ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG PEOPLE I SAW AND HEARD DURING MY STAY.

WHEN I WAS IN BONN FIVE YEARS AGO, THE LEADERS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE WERE MEETING AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT OF THE MOST DEMOCRATIC STATE EVER TO EXIST ON GERMAN SOIL. A MAIN ITEM ON THEIR AGENDA WAS A PROGRAM TO STRENGTHEN THE SECURITY OF THE WEST.

ON THE OPPOSITE BANK OF THE RHINE, MORE THAN 200,000 YOUNG PEOPLE DETERMINED TO EXPRESS THEIR DISAGREEMENT WITH THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE NATO LEADERS MEETING IN BONN. THEY WERE ANGRY AT WHAT WE WERE DOING AND DIDN'T MIND SAYING SO. MANY BELIEVED THEY WERE INVOLVED IN THE MOST IMPORTANT CRUSADE OF THEIR LIVES.

AT THAT MOMENT, I WAS DEEPLY MOVED BY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH HAD BEEN PLACED IN OUR HANDS. WE HAD BEFORE US AN EXAMPLE OF THE GREATEST TREASURE ANY NATION COULD POSSESS -- THE FREEDOM OF ALL CITIZENS TO PROTEST OPENLY AGAINST THE VIEWS OF THEIR LEADERS.

I KNEW THAT MANY OF THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD NOT BELIEVE
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THAT I YEARNED FOR PEACE AS MUCH OR MORE THAN THEY DID. MY INSTINCT SAID THAT THEY WOULD FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT MODERNIZATION OF NATO WEAPONS WOULD HELP ACHIEVE THIS PEACE.

BUT ABOVE ALL, MY HEART TOLD ME THAT MY FELLOW LEADERS AND I MUST PERSEVERE JUST BECAUSE OF THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE ACROSS THE RHINE. IF WE DID NOT REMAIN DETERMINED, AND STRENGTHEN THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, THEIR RIGHT TO DEMONSTRATE COULD BE ENDANGERED.

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AT THE SAME TIME, I WAS TOUCHED DEEPLY BY THE PAIN FELT BY A YOUNGER GENERATION WHICH COULD NOT UNDERSTAND BUILDING MORE WEAPONS IN A WORLD ALREADY THREATENED BY NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION.

I WAS RESOLVED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS THREAT. AND SO I PROPOSED THE DRASTIC REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE ELIMINATION OF AN ENTIRE CATEGORY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES.

AND YOU KNOW, I MAY BE GETTING OLDER, BUT I STILL KNOW TO DREAM. REMOVING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION REMAINS MY PERSONAL VISION FOR THE NEXT CENTURY. TODAY I WISH TO PROMISE AGAIN TO EXERT EVERY EFFORT, FOLLOW EVERY LEAD AND CONSIDER EVERY POSSIBILITY WHICH WILL LEAD TO TRUE ARMS CONTROL BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

AS I PONDERED THESE PROBLEMS IN 1982, I SAW EVEN MORE CLEARLY HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS THAT I VISIT BERLIN. BERLIN WAS THE ONE PLACE ON EARTH TO REAFFIRM MY VISION

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DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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OF A WORLD FREE OF TENSIONS AND THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR
WAR.

THE BERLIN INITIATIVE FOR PEACE

SO I CAME TO BERLIN AND SPOKE AT THE CHARLOTTENBURG
PALACE. IT WAS IN THIS CITY THAT I PRESENTED THE "BERLIN
INITIATIVE FOR PEACE."

AMID THE CONTROVERSIES OVER ARMS CONTROL, I WISHED TO USE
THIS SPEECH TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE MILITARY PROBLEMS
FACING US. I RECALLED THE BUILD-UP OF SOVIET NUCLEAR AND
CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND CALLED ON THE SOVIET UNION TO
NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY TOWARDS TRUE REDUCTIONS OF ALL
WEAPONS OF WAR.

I INDICATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TOWARD A CONFERENCE
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ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE. AND I ADDED A NEW PROPOSAL. I
CALLED FOR DISCUSSIONS LEADING TO MEASURES TO PREVENT THE
OUTBREAK OF ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR. I PROPOSED
NOTIFICATION OF STRATEGIC EXERCISES, OF MISSILE LAUNCHES,
AND EXPANDED EXCHANGE OF STRATEGIC FORCES DATA. THIS
PROPOSAL HAS EVOLVED INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET
UNION ON ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTION CENTERS.
THESE TALKS HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. THE BERLIN
INITIATIVE HAS YIELDED USEFUL RESULTS.

BUT THE AMERICAN MESSAGE FOR BERLIN HAS NEVER BEEN
LIMITED TO MILITARY DEFENSE. TODAY AS IN 1982, I WANT
ESPECIALLY TO USE BERLIN AS A SPOT TO REMIND ALL OF US
ABOUT THE SECOND IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT FOR PEACE --

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RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEINGS.

THE EAST-WEST BALANCE SHEET

MY LAST VISIT TO BERLIN WAS FIVE YEARS AGO, ALMOST TO THE DAY. MUCH HAS HAPPENED. DESPITE PREDICTIONS OF DISASTER, THE WEST DID MOVE FORWARD WITH DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MEDIUM RANGE WEAPONS. GUIDED BY THE COURAGE OF LEADERS SUCH AS CHANCELLOR KOHL AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, WE SECURED THE IMPORTANT SECURITY PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

CONTRARY TO DIRE PREDICTIONS, EAST-WEST RELATIONS DID NOT ENTER A PERMANENT FREEZE AFTER THE WEST TOOK THIS NECESSARY STEP. CONTACTS HAVE EXPANDED IN MANY FIELDS. AT GENEVA AND AGAIN REYKJAVIK, CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV AND I MADE IMPORTANT PROGRESS TOWARDS MEANINGFUL REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

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TALKS AIMED AT REDUCING ALL TYPES OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS CONTINUE IN GENEVA. THE OUTLOOK FOR PROGRESS IS ENCOURAGING. I HOPE TO MEET AGAIN WITH CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV LATER THIS YEAR IN WASHINGTON TO CONCLUDE AGREEMENTS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR ARMS AND OTHER CRITICAL ISSUES.

IN VIENNA, THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE HAS AGAIN TAKEN UP ITS WORK. FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS HELD SINCE CONCLUSION OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE HAVE CLARIFIED IMPORTANT ISSUES. PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS, THE EAST SEEMS MORE WILLING TO ENTER A TRUE DISCUSSION. THIS GIVES US HOPE.

AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD WAS TAKEN AT THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. FOR THE FIRST TIME, IMPORTANT MEASURES TO INCREASE OPENNESS OF MILITARY FORCES, TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR THROUGH ACCIDENT OR MISCALCULATION, WILL APPLY TO ALL OF EUROPE. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH OUR ALLIES TO MOVE TOWARDS A SECOND PHASE, WHICH WILL CONCENTRATE ON ESTABLISHING A REAL CONVENTIONAL MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE.

THE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

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BUT JUST AS EXCITING AS THE PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST
RELATIONS HAS BEEN THE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.
SHIELDED BY OUR COMMON DEFENSE, THE WEST HAS FLOURISHED
OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS. DIRE PREDICTIONS OF

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"EUROSCLEROSIS" OR TRADE WARS BETWEEN EUROPE AND AMERICA
HAVE NOT BEEN BORNE OUT. ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC
WE SEE A NEW SPIRIT OF OPTIMISM, CREATIVITY, AND

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INNOVATION. OUR BELIEF IN PEOPLE HAS AGAIN PAID OFF. WE ARE AT THE BEGINNING OF AN ERA OF UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY AND JUSTICE, IN THE WEST AND IN MANY OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

THIRTY YEARS AGO, MANY IN THE WEST TOOK SERIOUSLY NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S CLAIM THAT HE WOULD BURY THE UNITED STATES. TO SOME IT EVEN SEEMED PLAUSIBLE THAT THE COMMUNIST WORLD MIGHT OVERTAKE THE WEST IN PRODUCTION AND STANDARD OF LIVING BY THE 1970'S.

MANY EMERGING NATIONS THOUGHT THAT THE CENTRALLY CONTROLLED, DOGMATIC SOVIET MODEL MIGHT HELP THEM SKIP THE PAINFULLY SLOW PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT. PLURALISM WAS CONSIDERED TOO DISORGANIZED AND INEFFICIENT TO MEET THE

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IMPATIENT NEEDS OF THE THIRD WORLD. AS LATE AS THE 1970'S SOME OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE BELIEVED THAT A MARXIST MODEL SHOULD EVEN BE ADOPTED IN THE WEST.

WELL, YOU DON'T HEAR THESE ARGUMENTS MUCH TODAY. THE INTERVENING YEARS HAVE SHOWN EVEN MORE CLEARLY THAT DEMOCRACY, NOT COMMUNISM, IS THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE.

IF FREEDOM WERE NOT SO STRONG, THE EAST WOULD NOT NEED TO WALL IN ITS POPULATIONS.

IF DEMOCRACY WERE NOT SO ATTRACTIVE, THE EAST WOULD HAVE NO NEED TO IMPRISON HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS.

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IF OUR OPEN ECONOMIC SYSTEM WERE NOT SO PRODUCTIVE, THE EAST WOULD HAVE NO NEED TO STEAL OUR ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC SECRETS.

THESE LESSONS HAVE NOT BEEN LOST ON THE WEST, OR THE THIRD WORLD.

WHEREVER WE LOOK, INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE IS BEING UNLEASHED. WESTERN EUROPE IS EXPLODING WITH ENERGY.

IN WESTERN EUROPE, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES ARE MAKING STEADY PROGRESS TOWARDS TRUE UNITY BASED ON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. AMERICA WELCOMES WESTERN EUROPEAN UNITY AS AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE TO REUNIFICATION OF THE ENTIRE CONTINENT.

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NEWLY PROSPEROUS NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD ARE SETTING A BREATHTAKING PACE AND TEACHING US MANY LESSONS ABOUT OUR OWN ECONOMIC SYSTEM. AND THE FOUNDATION FOR THIS

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ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS INCREASINGLY DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW. DRAMATIC EXAMPLES SUCH AS THE PHILIPPINES AND ARGENTINA SHOULD NOT ALLOW US TO FORGET THE STEADY, LESS OBSERVED PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY BEING MADE NEARLY EVERYWHERE.

REACHING TOWARD THE EAST -- GLASNOST

THE EAST MAY ALSO BE INCREASINGLY ALERT TO THE BENEFITS OF FREEDOM. FIFTEEN YEARS AGO WHEN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN WAS SIGNED, COMMUNIST LEADERS STILL BELIEVED THAT THEY COULD BUILD A MODERN SOCIETY. THEY HAD FALSELY CONCLUDED THAT WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE MEANT ACCEPTANCE OF REPRESSION AND DICTATORSHIP. THEY SAW THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AS THE PERMANENT FOUNDATION FOR LIFE ON THIS CONTINENT.

LET US RECALL THAT THE FIRST CHALLENGE TO THIS THESIS CAME NOT FROM THE WEST, BUT FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE EAST THEMSELVES. WITHIN WEEKS AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THEIR OWN CITIZENS BEGAN DEMANDING FULFILLMENT OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS SUCH AS THE HELSINKI MONITORS SPRUNG UP IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE. A BIT MORE THAN A YEAR AGO, BERLINERS WERE THRILLED BY THE RELEASE OF ANATOLI SHCHARANSKIY ON THE GLIENICKE BRIDGE. THIS HERO OF DEMOCRACY CHOOSE TO SPEND MORE THAN TEN YEARS IN PRISON RATHER THAN ABANDON HIS SEARCH FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE SOVIET UNION.

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INFO USMISSION USBERLIN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, BZ
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

AND SO IT HAS BEEN THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNIST WORLD. BE
THEY SOVIET JEWS, CHARTER 77 ACTIVISTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA
OR MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY IN POLAND -- THE PEOPLE OF THE
EAST HAVE SENT A CLEAR MESSAGE. THEY WANT FREEDOM.

THE SAME MESSAGE HAS COME FROM THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN THE
EAST. IT IS OLD, RUSTY AND BACKWARD. IT CAN BARELY MEET
BASIC HUMAN NEEDS LET ALONE THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

ECONOMIES BURDENED BY HEAVY MILITARY SPENDING AND
CENTRALIZED BUREACRACY CANNOT SUCCEED. POPULATIONS
REPPRESSED BY DICTATORSHIP AND CENSORSHIP WILL NEVER BE
PRODUCTIVE.

AGAIN, IT IS NOT THE WEST WHICH IS MAKING THESE CLAIMS,
IT IS THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF. IT IS

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THEY WHO ARE CATALOGING THE FAILURES OF THE CLOSED SOCIETIES. IT IS THEY WHO HAVE GIVEN US A NEW WORD -- GLASNOST -- TO DESCRIBE WHAT WE HAVE KNOWN FOR A LONG TIME -- THAT PEOPLE WANT TO BE FREE.

THE UNITED STATES AND BERLIN

NOWHERE IS THE LESSON OF FREEDOM AND THE NEED TO DEFEND IT CLEARER THAN IN BERLIN. FOR MORE THAN FORTY YEARS, THE UNITY OF BERLINERS AND ALLIES AND THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE WESTERN WORLD HAS ENSURED THE LIBERTY AND PROSPERITY OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

THE UNITED STATES REMAINS AS COMMITTED TO THE FREEDOM OF THE WESTERN SECTORS TODAY AS IN THE PAST. THIS COMMITMENT CONTINUES TO BE BASED ON THE QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE WHICH WE MAINTAIN JOINTLY WITH OUR WESTERN ALLIES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

THESE RIGHTS APPLY TO ALL FOUR SECTORS OF BERLIN. DESPITE CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY, THE EASTERN SECTOR IS NOT THE CAPITAL OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. I AM DETERMINED TO ENSURE THAT IT NEVER WILL BE.

BASED ON THESE RIGHTS, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1971. WE HOPE TO WORK EVEN MORE ENERGETICALLY WITH OUR BRITISH AND FRENCH ALLIES AND WITH AUTHORITIES IN BONN AND BERLIN TO ENSURE THAT MORE IS ACHIEVED IN ALL AREAS, INCLUDING THOSE SECTIONS WHICH RECONFIRM THE IMPORTANT

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TIES WHICH EXIST BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

WE SEE THIS RESPONSIBILITY AS BOTH A DUTY AND A SACRED TRUST. OUR DUTY IS TO THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY AND EUROPE

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AND TO OURSELVES. IF WE ALLOWED DEMOCRACY TO BE UNDERMINED IN BERLIN, OUR OWN FREEDOM COULD SOON BE QUESTIONED. THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN ARE NOT MERELY UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE WEST, THEY ARE PART OF THE WEST.

BERLIN AND THE DIVISION OF EUROPE

BUT SO TOO IS ALL OF EUROPE. THE UNITED STATES IS A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS. OVER THERE ACROSS THE WALL IS AS MUCH THE SOURCE OF OUR HERITAGE AS IS THE WEST. WE HAVE NEVER DIVIDED THIS GREAT CONTINENT INTO ARTIFICIAL CATEGORIES OF EAST AND WEST. FOR US, WARSAW, PRAGUE AND BUDAPEST ARE JUST AS MUCH A PART OF OUR CULTURAL AND POLITICAL HERITAGE AS ARE LONDON, PARIS OR ROME.

WE CANNOT ACCEPT THIS ARTIFICIAL DIVISION OF GERMANY AND OF OTHER PROUD NATIONS FROM THEIR NATURAL CULTURAL HOMELAND IN THE WEST. FOR AMERICA, OUR ROLE IN BERLIN TRANSCENDS THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF THIS CITY, HOWEVER TRAGIC THEY MAY BE. AS WE LOOK AT THAT HORRIBLE WALL BEHIND US, WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT IT SYMBOLIZES THE VIOLENT DIVISION OF NEARLY HALF OF EUROPE FROM ITS CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ROOTS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, BZ
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

THUS, IN A VERY REAL WAY FOR THE UNITED STATES,
MAINTENANCE OF OUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN
AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE IS A COMMITMENT OF HISTORICAL
PROPORTIONS.

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AS LONG AS THESE RIGHTS REMAIN, THE WEST WILL HAVE
REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE INCORPORATION OF HALF OF EUROPE
INTO A SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. AS LONG AS THESE
RIGHTS REMAIN, THE SOVIETS ARE OBLIGED TO RECALL THE
PROMISES OF DEMOCRACY AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EUROPE
THEY MADE MORE THAN 40 YEARS AGO.

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD -- LOOK TOWARD BERLIN

SEVERAL TIMES IN THE POSTWAR ERA, BERLIN SENT A SIGNAL TO
THE REST OF THE WORLD. YOUR RESISTANCE TO SOVIET THREATS
HELPED FOCUS AMERICAN ATTENTION ON A NEW CHALLENGE IN
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EUROPE. YOUR COURAGE FOLLOWING CONSTRUCTION OF THE
BERLIN WALL THRILLED A WATCHING WORLD.

AND AGAIN TODAY, BERLIN CAN SEND A SIGNAL WHICH WILL BE
HEARD WHEREVER MEN AND WOMEN YEARN FOR FREEDOM. I WISH
TO JOIN WITH YOU TODAY TO ECHO THE WORDS OF ERNST
REUTER.

"IHR VOELKER DER WELT - SCHAUT AUF DIESE STADT." (PEOPLE

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OF THE WORLD - PAY ATTENTION TO THIS CITY).

ON THAT NINTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1948, 350,000 BERLINERS GATHERED NOT FAR FROM HERE IN FRONT OF THE DESTROYED REICHSTAG. THEY GATHERED TO PROTEST THE SOVIET BLOCKADE OF THEIR CITY. THEY CALLED ON THE WEST -- ON AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND FRANCE TO HELP MAINTAIN THE FREEDOM OF BERLIN.

TODAY, THE TIME AGAIN HAS COME TO WATCH BERLIN. A CITY WHICH HAS FLOURISHED UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. A CITY WHICH TAKES THE LIMITATIONS OF ITS STRANGE SITUATION AS A CHALLENGE RATHER THAN A BURDEN. A CITY IN WHICH CITIZENS OF FOUR NATIONS -- AMERICA, FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN AS WELL AS GERMANY -- WORK IN CLOSE HARMONY TO PROVIDE A MODEL OF DEMOCRATIC COOPERATION.

A MODEL OF DEMOCRATIC COOPERATION. OF FREE MEN AND WOMEN WORKING TOGETHER TO FIND PEACE AND PROSPERITY UNDER FREEDOM.

A NEW SIGNAL FROM BERLIN

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THAT TO ME IS THE NEW SIGNAL FROM BERLIN. A FREE AND OPEN SOCIETY. A PATH TOWARD AN OPEN EUROPE AND AN OPEN WORLD. THE ELIMINATION OF ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS BETWEEN PEOPLE. THIS IS MY DREAM.

THERE ARE VOICES IN THE EAST ALSO CALLING FOR OPENNESS, BY ITS RUSSIAN NAME, "GLASNOST". I AM NOT SURE THAT THEY MEAN WHAT WE MEAN BY OPENNESS. BUT WE SHOULD PUT IT TO THE TEST. WE SHOULD WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE A BETTER WORLD FOR ALL OF US.

AND SO I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ALSO LOOK TOWARD THE EAST; TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD. I SAY TO YOU:

LET US USE THE OCCASION OF BERLIN'S 750TH ANNIVERSARY TO SEND A SIGNAL OF PEACE AND OPENNESS. LET US BEGIN TO SPREAD OPENNESS THROUGHOUT EUROPE BY BEGINNING IN BERLIN.

WE MUST STRIVE TO IMPLEMENT MORE FULLY IMPLEMENT THE

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PROVISIONS OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT -- ESPECIALLY THOSE CALLING FOR MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE VITAL TIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE WESTERN SECTORS. I AM DISAPPOINTED THAT UP TO NOW THERE HAS BEEN MORE HINDRANCE FROM THE EASTERN SIDE THAN HELP IN FULFILLING THIS IMPORTANT OBLIGATION.

LET US AGREE TO INCREASE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR HUMAN CONTACTS BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND EASTERN PARTS OF THE CITY. TRAVEL AND VISITS SHOULD BE EASIER, EXPANDED CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTACTS MADE POSSIBLE. THIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 09 OF 10 BONN 07288

DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, BZ

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SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

WOULD BE A MODEST BUT USEFUL STEP TOWARD OPENNESS.

WE SHOULD WORK TOGETHER TO SOLVE THE URGENT PROBLEMS OF MODERN SOCIETY. I THEREFORE PROPOSE THAT YOU AGREE TO THE SCHEDULING OF UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCES IN THE WESTERN SECTORS. OR WHY NOT ORGANIZE CONFERENCES TO BE HELD IN BOTH PARTS OF THE CITY?

WE COOPERATE IN MANY FIELDS AS PART OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. AS THE VIENNA MEETING CONCLUDES, LET US AGREE TO HOLD A FOLLOW-UP MEETING IN BERLIN, ALTERNATING BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF THE CITY.

I WOULD ALSO BE PLEASED TO SCHEDULE AN IMPORTANT ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATION IN THE TWO PARTS OF BERLIN. TALKS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCE REDUCTIONS WILL HOPEFULLY BEGIN SOON. WHAT BETTER PLACE TO HOLD THEM THAN IN THE TWO PARTS OF

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BERLIN?

MANY OTHER POSSIBILITIES COULD BE CONSIDERED. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS MADE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE BY SUGGESTING THAT SOME EVENTS OF THE 1988 OLYMPICS BE HELD IN NORTH KOREA. WHY NOT ORGANIZE THE 1992 OLYMPIC GAMES IN BOTH PARTS OF THIS GREAT CITY?

FINALLY, I THINK WE SHOULD WORK TOGETHER AS WE DID FIFTEEN YEARS AGO TO REDUCE THE PRACTICAL BARRIERS TO MORE OPENNESS IN BERLIN.

IN THE MODERN AGE, EFFECTIVE AIR CONNECTIONS ARE KEY TO THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF ANY MAJOR CITY. THEY ARE VITAL TO FOSTERING HUMAN CONTACTS AND ECONOMIC TIES. THEY ARE AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT IN CREATING THE OPENNESS WE SEEK -- BREAKING DOWN ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS BETWEEN PEOPLE AND NATIONS. GIVEN ITS UNUSUAL LOCATION, AVIATION IS DOUBLY IMPORTANT TO BERLIN -- IT IS THE CITY'S LIFELINE. YET THE AVIATION REGIME IN BERLIN IS SUBJECT TO SEVERE STRICTURES TOTALLY OUT OF STEP WITH PRESENT-DAY NEEDS.

THEREFORE, I PROPOSE THAT WE NEGOTIATE A MORE MODERN AIR REGIME FOR BERLIN, ONE WHICH WILL HELP OPEN BERLIN TO

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EUROPE AND THE WORLD AND SECURE THE CITY'S FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED, ON THE BASIS OF OUR QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE, TO EXAMINE ALL REASONABLE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THIS END.

REALIZATION OF THESE IDEAS WILL NOT CHANGE THE MAP OF EUROPE OR EVEN BERLIN OVERNIGHT. BUT THEY WILL GIVE PROOF OF OUR DETERMINATION TO MOVE FORWARD.

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MOVING TOWARD A GLOBAL DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY

I AM CONVINCED THAT OPENNESS CAN MOVE BEYOND BERLIN TO EUROPE AND THE WORLD. I KNOW IT MAY SOUND REVOLUTIONARY. SOME WILL SAY THE EAST IS THREATENED BY OPENNESS. BUT I SAY THE EAST, LIKE THE THIRD WORLD, CAN ONLY BENEFIT FROM TRUE OPENNESS -- AND IN THE LONG RUN, CANNOT SURVIVE WITHOUT IT.

-

TODAY THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT WHICH PHILOSOPHY WILL GUIDE THE FUTURE OF THIS PLANET. WE ARE MOVING TOWARD A GLOBAL DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY. AT FIRST IT IS BEING TIED TOGETHER BY THE MIRACLES OF TECHNOLOGY. LATER, I AM CONVINCED THAT WE WILL BUILD A TRUE PARTNERSHIP OF VALUES AMONG PEOPLES OF ALL CONTINENTS -- AN OPEN WORLD.

FIVE YEARS AGO, I SPOKE IN A PERIOD OF TENSION AND DOUBT. I PRESENTED A SIMPLE MESSAGE -- THAT DEMOCRACY IS THE BEST HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS WORLD.

TODAY WE ARE BUOYED BY SUCCESS. OUR WESTERN WORLD HAS REACHED A LEVEL OF STRENGTH AND PROSPERITY WHICH MIGHT HAVE SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE EVEN FIVE YEARS AGO.

WE HAVE PROVEN THAT DEMOCRACY CAN SOLVE EVEN THE MOST COMPLICATED PROBLEMS WITHIN OUR OWN SOCIETIES. WE HAVE ALSO OBSERVED HOW DEMOCRACY CAN PROVIDE HOPE FOR HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE THIRD WORLD.

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DEPT FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY AND DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BODDE; BERLIN FOR KORNBLUM FROM THE
AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, BZ
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

NOW WE MUST LOOK TO THE FUTURE. NOW THAT OUR DEFENSES
ARE STRONG, OUR ECONOMIES ARE GROWING AND OUR VALUES ARE
SECURE -- NOW WE MUST DEDICATE OURSELVES TO SOLVING ONE
OF THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
-- THE SEARCH FOR A UNIFIED AND ABOVE ALL DEMOCRATIC
EUROPE.

IF A NEW DEMOCRATIC GLOBAL COMMUNITY IS TO BEGIN
ANYWHERE, IT SHOULD BE IN EUROPE.

EUROPE IS THE CRADLE OF MODERN LIFE. IDEAS OF JUSTICE,
EQUALITY AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS ORIGINATED HERE. MODERN
METHODS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WERE EXPORTED FROM

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EUROPE TO ALL PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

EUROPE MUST BE REUNITED. BARRIERS TO CONTACT MUST BE
TORN DOWN. WE SHOULD BEGIN WITH THE UGLY WALL WHICH
DIVIDES THIS GREAT CITY. WE SHOULD CONTINUE BY HELPING
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PEOPLE IN EAST GERMANY AND EASTERN EUROPE TO ENJOY FULL
SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.

FORTY YEARS AGO THIS JUNE, SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE
MARSHALL PRESENTED THE MARSHALL PLAN TO THE HARVARD
COMMENCEMENT. THIS PLAN WAS PART OF THE VISION FOR A
PROSPEROUS, UNITED EUROPE, A VISION OFFERED EQUALLY TO
EAST AND WEST. AT THE TIME THE DIVISION OF EUROPE
PREVENTED OUR HOPES FROM BEING FULFILLED THROUGHOUT
THE CONTINENT, ALTHOUGH THE RECOVERY OF WESTERN EUROPE
WAS A SPECTACULAR SUCCESS, DUE IN GREAT PART TO THE
SPIRIT OF TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION WHICH PREVAILED. WE
HAVE NOT LOST OUR VISION OF FORTY YEARS AGO FOR A UNITED
EUROPE. IT IS ONE I WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM TODAY.

TO PURSUE THIS QUEST, WE SHOULD LEARN FROM THE LESSONS OF
THE PAST FIVE YEARS. FIRST AND FOREMOST, WE MUST
RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY AND PERSISTENCE. UNITY
IN DEFINING OUR VALUES AND INTERESTS AND PERSISTENCE IN
ATTACKING THE INJUSTICES WE SEE BEFORE US.

TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, WE MUST PURSUE EFFORTS TOWARDS
PRACTICAL COOPERATION WITH THE EAST. WE MUST EXAMINE ALL
POSSIBILITIES TO REDUCE ARMS AND EASE MILITARY
CONFRONTATION. WE MUST SEEK MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL AVENUES
OF TRADE. WE MUST ENCOURAGE THE FREE FLOW OF PEOPLE AND
IDEAS.

BUT ABOVE ALL WE BE CONFIDENT AND HOPEFUL. WE HAVE NO
NEED TO SACRIFICE OUR PRINCIPLES, SUCH AS THE STATUS OF
BERLIN, IN SEARCH OF WEAK COMPROMISES FROM THE EAST. IF
WE PURSUE OUR GOALS, CAREFULLY, HONESTLY AND WITH
CONVICTION, WE CANNOT FAIL. THE LONG DIVISION OF THE
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CONTINENT IS A TRAGEDY, BUT THE PLAY IS NOT OVER.

OUR JOB IS TO MAKE THE SIGNAL FROM BERLIN UNDERSTOOD
THROUGHOUT EUROPE. OUR MESSAGE IS NOT CONFRONTATION, NOT
AGGRESSION. OUR MESSAGE IS A READINESS TO WORK HONESTLY
AND OPENLY WITH THE EAST TO LIVE TOGETHER IN AN OPEN
WORLD -- A WORLD WITHOUT WALLS. LET US STEP FORWARD TO
MEET THIS HISTORIC CHALLENGE.

END TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH.

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